DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 265 248 UD 024 648

AUTHOR Holenbergh, Rosita M.
TITLE Education and Cultural Diversity: Recent Development of Policy in Australia.
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 40p.; In: Comparative and International Studies and the Theory and Practice of Education. Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Australian Comparative and International Education Society (11th, Hamilton, New Zealand, August 21-24, 1983). See UD 024 646.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Cultural Differences; *Educational Policy; Educational Research; English (Second Language); Equal Education; *Foreign Countries; *Immigrants; Migrant Education; *Multicultural Education; Policy Formation; Research Needs; Research Reports; Research Utilization; *Social Change; Social Science Research; *Sociocultural Patterns
IDENTIFIERS Anglo Saxons; Australia; Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs; *Australians

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the changes in social processes and corresponding changes in education as a result of the presence of post-war, non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants in Australia. This is followed by analyses of recent reports which have influenced policy, and the paper concludes with identification of research needs in the light of recent research done in the United States. The first section deals with changes in the degree of differentiation in Australian society; changes in modes of analysis of educational and sociological research; changes in definitions of equality of opportunity; and actual programmatic changes in the education of immigrants. The second section reports on the structure of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) and its 1980 report, which includes recommendations for tertiary education, upgrading adult education, and financial grants for ethnic schools. The document also presents highlights from AIMA's evaluation of post-arrival programs and services in 1982, and an analysis of the research report commissioned by the Schools Commission concerning ethnic schools. The final section considers future research needs and finds that the measures recommended in the foregoing reports are relatively weak on the whole. (CG)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

K. L. Grove

Australian Comparative and International Education Society

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

ED265248

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY:

RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY IN AUSTRALIA

by

Rosita M. Holenbergh

Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian Comparative and International Education Society (11th, Hamilton, New Zealand, 21-24 August, 1983).

ED265248

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY : RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY IN AUSTRALIA

ROSITA M. HOLENBERGH

The response of Australian institutions to the presence of post-war non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants has been described by several scholars (see particularly Martin, 1978). The changes which have become evident in educational philosophy, policy and practice have reflected changes in the prevailing perceptions of the status and power of immigrants within Australian society, so far reflected to a lesser degree within other institutions. They have been accompanied by changing styles of educational research in collecting information to be used as the basis of further policy formation.

The adaptation within education has been part of a more widespread differentiation within the structure and culture of the society, affecting both ethnic and other sub-cultural groups. It has also been associated with changes in philosophical and other forms of intellectual analysis and with changes in definitions of equality of opportunity, although within relevant disciplines, such as sociology, the links between the mainstreams and differentiated areas of study concerning ethnicity and migration are often not made.

In this paper the changes in social processes and corresponding changes in education are first discussed in general terms to illustrate the evolution of multicultural education from migrant education. Some recent reports which have influenced policy are then analysed. Research needs are identified in the light of recent research in the U.S.A.

1. CHANGES IN DEGREE OF DIFFERENTIATION IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

In analysing the construction of public, social knowledge concerning immigrants in Australia, Martin (1978) described three phases of prevailing definition within the host society which reflected increasing differentiation on the ethnic cultural dimension.

(i) First, a phase which existed up to the mid-1960s in which immigrants were defined as assimilable and questions concerning the modification of Australian institutions did not arise (p.21); during that phase the principle definers were Commonwealth Government authorities such as the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs

UD 024648

(pp. 27-28), but immigration authorities in some countries of origin of immigrants also advocated assimilation, as described for Dutch immigrants by Overberg (1981).

(ii) Second, towards the end of the 1960s a phase followed in which immigrants were mainly defined as a social problem (p. 36), as disadvantaged victims of economic exploitation and official and community neglect (pp. 36-38), for whom compensatory treatment was needed for adaptation to be accomplished. The definers in this phase were mainly Anglo-Celtic Australian professional persons located within established organisations, often in marginal positions, such as social workers attached to schools (p. 36). Most objective data on poverty did not confirm this grim view (Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1975), although it was put forward as a reason for criticism of the immigration program by anti-inflationists, environmentalists, people involved in immigrant welfare and those perturbed by high concentrations of immigrants in inner-city areas (Price, 1971:A12). Most immigrants remained economically viable through hard work (see Encel/Martin,1981:90), but there were sometimes social and psychological costs for some groups (see Parker, 1973).

(iii) Third, from about 1972 onwards, a phase followed in which immigrants were defined as people with the capacity for power and participation (p. 51) and with ethnic rights (p. 57). There was increasing differentiation apparent amongst definers, but in this phase contributions have been made by ethnic professionals, spokespersons from individual ethnic groups and from pan-ethnic organisations such as Ethnic Communities' Councils. Such councils have become increasingly significant as pressure groups, which cut across party political lines and act in the (perceived) interests of ethnic groups.

As the major emphases in general, public policy moved from reflecting views of Australian society as culturally homogeneous or integrated to reflecting a view as heterogeneous and differentiated, there was increasing differentiation in educational provision for culturally diverse ethnic groups. (At the same time there was also diversification within the mainstream of education with respect to pedagogical styles, alternative forms of schooling and community participation in decision-making (see Wescombe, 1980).)

The same tendency to ethnic differentiation was by now also apparent in other institutions, such as those associated with health, welfare and trade unions, although it was more explicit and more comprehensive within education (see Martin, 1978).

The general increase in complexity of social and economic structures in Australia and in other parts of the Western world may, of course, be related to the development of science and technology and to post-war economic growth, which resulted in full employment, higher standards of living and increasing differentiation in the range of occupations available.

2. CHANGES IN MODES OF ANALYSIS

Major intellectual emphases have also been related to those patterns of social change mentioned above. For example, underlying theoretical perspectives in the sociology of education informing the study of immigrants in education changed concomitantly during the post-war period and also fall into three phases.

(i) First, perspectives from structural-functionalist theory emphasized the existence and worth of socio-economic stratification of societies, to be achieved in part in the educational system, by the appropriate selection of pupils who had experienced various types of primary socialization in differing sub-cultural groups. It was thought that secondary socialization should maintain social cohesion and cultural transmission of the prevailing established order. For immigrants in Australia during this period, life-styles and life-chances were influenced by public policies of assimilation which were intended to encourage adaptation by means of competition and mobility within the established structures. However, ethnic differentiation did occur in many groups, mainly at the primary level of family and kin (for example, see Huber, 1977; Bottomley, 1979). This first strand of intellectual activity still continues in some respects. For example, Carroll (1978) has developed a sociology of recent Western culture in terms of the relative incidence of psychological ideal types based upon metaphysical world-views. He has postulated a change (viewed as a decline) through three phases of cultural emphasis. Carroll has argued that a significant initial phase of Puritan-based culture existed, founded on beliefs of election for salvation of chosen people, whose virtue was demonstrated in good works; there was strong individual authority, with individual

solutions to social problems and a patriarchal society. The next (undesirable) phase has been viewed by Carroll as paranoid, representing an inversion of Calvinism, by which the underprivileged were perceived as virtuous and authority was delegated to public bodies. A still later phase has been termed remissive and is seen by Carroll to be marked by participation for all and indifference to excellence.

(ii) Second, a set of intellectual perspectives in the sociology of education was centred on a concern with social reform, to achieve equality of opportunity by adjustments in curriculum content and pupil selection, allowing "corrective", transitional retention of some characteristics of primary socialization. For immigrants in Australia, cultural distinctiveness of life-styles within strong institutions such as the family and church, and within voluntary ethnic associations, such as clubs and ethnic "schools", was tolerated. However, policies of integration still emphasized secondary socialization into the established prevailing socio-economic structure, which affects life-chances. If elements of ethnic cultures were incorporated within education, they were also to be available for the benefit of Anglo-Celtic Australians who might become more tolerant or even derive more positive gains. Proponents of this strand of intellectual activity have been those whose philosophy of democratic socialism suggested a guiding principle of minimizing disadvantage, which has the effect of directing attention to problems (see Popper, 1945). The works of Passow (1970) and Riessman (1962) have been characteristic of this approach.

(iii) Third, sociological perspectives incorporating elements of conflict theory, phenomenology and symbolic interaction have become favoured. It has been suggested that social change could be achieved by recognising the control of knowledge and the forms of cultural reproduction through consciousness of cultural meanings. The reorganisation of education would then permit secondary socialization consistent with the needs of a diversity of cultural groups. Competition could then be more equitable or absent altogether if wealth corresponding to a post-industrial phase of economic development were attained (see Kahn, Brown and Martel, 1976), or if changes in the economic structure were achieved by reform or revolution.

For immigrants in Australia, distinctiveness of life-styles could be supported structurally by government links with ethnic

institutions and within general societal institutions; the determination of life chances could be made more equitable by policies favouring participation, power and ethnic rights.

An example of the third approach in the sociology of education is found in the work of Bernstein, who argued that property has become partly psychologized in the form of valued skills made available in educational institutions (Bernstein, 1975:515). The "new middle class" is able to take advantage of an "invisible" pedagogy which encourages variety and spontaneity, so that parents can assess the educational possibilities for their children in order to profit from diversification in the occupational structure of symbolic control (Bernstein, 1974:19). Kahn has also referred to the "New Class" of educated persons, which exerts influence as a "progressive" force on behalf of its own class interest (see Kahn and Pepper, 1980:53).

Another example of this approach is found in the humanistic social action theory applied by Smolicz (1979) to education in a pluralist society. Smolicz suggested the need for ethnic languages and cultures to be included as components of curriculum available in all Australian schools, ensuring the reproduction of Australian ethnic cultures so that the life-styles and life-chances of immigrants might be enhanced and the life-styles of Anglo-Celtic Australians might be enriched.

Such breaking of Anglo-Celtic cultural domination in education is clearly also a matter for concern, but regarded unfavourably by those Marxist analysts of education who consider that successful incorporation of ethnic emphases into consultative processes and into the curriculum may serve to distract attention from the underlying structural inequality of classes (see Sharp, 1980:153).

Yet another example of this approach is the development of theory by Martin (see, for example, Martin and Meade, 1979) who described stultifying and liberating definitions of biculturalism. It was suggested that the refusal of some groups of immigrant parents and children to accept the negative and limiting roles offered by schools may have contributed to the relative success in credentialling of those immigrant pupils in Sydney secondary schools who were found to be most successful at upper secondary level (when social class was taken into account).

It seems that parents of some working-class ethnic backgrounds were able to function in a way similar to that described for a "new middle class", by influencing the educational progress of their offspring in the conventional (Anglo-Celtic Australian) curriculum and rendering ineffective the limiting intentions of teachers and other school personnel. Marjoribanks (1980) has recently applied the concept of "ethclass" to immigrants in Australia to describe groups formed by the intersection of dimensions of ethnicity and class. It is possible that, with the inclusion in curriculum of components based on ethnic languages and cultures, differentiation into "ethclasses" could assume even greater significance in future. The emergence of independent fee-paying schools, of the "ethnic" or "international" types, is noted later (p. 22).

Immigrants are more likely to become bilingual and bicultural than are Anglo-Celtic Australians. Educational and occupational advantages may flow from the functional development of bilingualism and biculturalism, perhaps based on English and a particular language and culture maintained by a large group in a particular set of occupations; (according to some teachers and trainers in further education this seems to be the case already in a few parts of the occupational structure). Those ethnic parents of non-English-speaking background who can function as a "new middle class" will be able, to the greatest extent of all ethclasses, to influence and to take advantage of a curriculum allowing such development. Economic opportunities for their children within Australia and in other sites of the ethnic cultures concerned are then likely to be maximised if Australia's participation in the international labour market continues to increase.

On the other hand, if educational and occupational disadvantages should flow from poorly developed bilingualism and biculturalism, children of ethnic working class parents of non-English-speaking background, whose parents are least able of all ethclass groups to influence curriculum and instruction, will least be able to take advantage of existing opportunities. The (foreshadowed) introduction in Australia of advanced technology in communications and information services is likely to increase this separation (see Submissions to the Inquiry into Cable and Subscription Television Services and Related Matters of the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, 1981).

Marjoribanks' (1980) research showed that parents of some ethclass groups (of Greek and Italian background in his study) supported the development of courses on ethnic languages and cultures in the curriculum. Parents of other ethclass groups (of Yugoslav, Anglo-Celtic Australian and English background in his study) did not support such courses.

3. CHANGES IN DEFINITIONS OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Definitions of equality of opportunity incorporated in educational policies have varied correspondingly in the three phases described above. The definitions in Western systems of education have been outlined clearly by Rist (1979: 363-365) and applied to society in Western Germany and to the situation of "guest workers", by considering arrangements for access to, content in and style of schooling.

(i) The definition of equality of the first phase is associated with a general curriculum and competition amongst a small number of persons for entry to a few rewarding occupations.

(ii) The definition of equality of the second phase is associated with the assignment of a greater number of students within a set of specialised curricula and with competition for a diversified range of occupations differing in rewards.

(iii) The definition of equality of the third phase is associated with individual selection within a diversified range of options in curriculum, with parity of differing educational outcomes and without the need for competition for occupations, since all occupations are sufficiently rewarding and satisfactory life-styles are available to all.

Rist found the third definition incongruent with the need for specialization in the workforce and with the competitive nature of Western Germany society. It could be argued that in practice at present in Australia a "new middle class" would be relatively advantaged and the working class disadvantaged by such attempts at flexibility within the middle and upper levels of education (see Cohen, 1981). It may be appropriate that some immigrant parents and offspring in Australia express approval for more "structured" conservative forms of curricular organisation and teaching practices

(Marjoribanks, 1980; Young, Petty and Faulkner, 1980: 162, 262). ("Guest workers" in Western Germany were spectacularly unequal with all policies.)

4. CHANGES IN EDUCATION

The same sequence of three phases in policy development to take account of ethnic cultural diversity is evident.

(i) In the first phase, the Federal Government made particular provision for the education of immigrant adults, but children were expected to learn English and to achieve academically in education as a result of immersion (within the State systems of education). Research during this period attempted to determine the degree of assimilation and achievement of "new Australians". as described in the report of the Immigration Advisory Council (1960).

(ii) In the second phase, the Federally-supported Child Migrant Education Program was developed (from 1970). It was based upon the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) to overcome difficulties in communication and in instruction, which were perceived to stem from inadequacies of immigrant children but not, in any major way, from defects of educational systems. The most common method of organisation for ESL was the "withdrawal" class derived from existing arrangements for special education.

The research of the (Federal) Australian Schools Commission (established in 1973) led to renewed emphasis on remedial programs in "Migrant and Multi-cultural Education" for immigrant children. Programs were intended to strengthen ESL, but for the first time also to promote ethnic cultural identity and higher self-esteem in immigrant pupils by the teaching of community languages, see Schools Commission, 1975: 90-92.) Studies of cultural diversity for all pupils were also recommended (p. 125), with the aim of effecting some change in attitudes towards immigrant children to increase tolerance in the school context. However, there was little concern with the necessary structural support in schools for the implementation of such measures, such as the creation of positions and the appointment of qualified teachers, other than for the provision of ESL in an ad hoc manner. Bodies associated with the Federal Department of Education, such as the Curriculum Development Centre and the

Educational Research and Development Committee, did develop some minor emphases on cultural diversity.

Research characteristic of the second phase was methodologically more rigorous than in the first phase, but conceptually it focussed upon pupil "problems", demonstrated by pupil profiles, and not upon the quality of schooling provided. Typical studies were a study of pupil achievement at primary-school level, using a battery of devices administered in the English language (de Lemos, 1975) and a study of literacy and numeracy of immigrants (as part of a larger study) in which socio-economic status was not taken into account (Bourke and Keeves, 1977).

(iii) In the third phase, the needs of immigrant children were presented in a less problem-oriented way, shown first in the Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (1976). Recommendations were now made for the provision of bilingual education and of community language studies, in particular for immigrant children, and for intercultural education for all. However, it was also recommended that all children should be given the opportunity to study languages other than their own from the earliest primary years, which extended the concept of bilingualism and biculturalism more widely, by applying it to pupils who were not of recent immigrant background, including Anglo-Celtic Australian pupils. Ethnic rights to parity of esteem and of educational provision within systemic schools were thus recognised, implying major organisational changes.

Recommendations were also made for the support of ethnic schools (voluntary associations organised by ethnic communities), thereby defining them as appropriate educational structures, to be linked with the public educational system for the teaching of community languages and cultures.

Other research characteristic of this phase has also emphasised the power and capacity for participation of immigrants. As previously indicated, it has included studies described by Smolicz (1979) on the maintenance of ethnicity, by Marjoribanks (1980) who examined the demand for the teaching of community languages and cultures, and the research of Martin and Meade (1979),

who referred to the stultifying processes of definition to which immigrant students in high schools were subjected and which were rejected by some students who achieved succe[illegible].

When little action followed in supporting and setting up programs in community languages and cultures, requests to the Federal Government were made for the funding of programs, along the lines recommended by the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools, by various voluntary associations concerned with education. Some of these arose for that purpose, such as the New South Wales State Multicultural Education Committee, which was formed from persons from ethnic community groups, professional organisations of teachers and educational institutions (see Young, 1977). Partly as a result of such action and from other direct approaches to parliamentarians, a review was subsequently initiated by the Prime Minister and Cabinet (rather than through the relevant Commonwealth Ministries) to determine whether recent immigrants had access equal to that of other Australians to existing welfare services and to other programs and services, including those concerned with health, housing, education and employment (Review of Post-Arrival Services and Programs to Migrants, 1978, The Galbally Report).

It was assumed in the enquiry that the existing, relatively undifferentiated, delivery of services was structurally appropriate and that consultation and "self-help" within ethnic communities were both possible and desirable to identify and plan for any special needs. Successful initiatives would subsequently attract government resources.

The recommendations then made for education again strongly supported the teaching of English to attain equality of access to services and equality of opportunity with respect to life chances. It was found that in 1975 approximately 90,000 children were receiving ESL instruction which represented approximately 23% of the 400,000 students of 5-14 years from backgrounds where English was not spoken. Recommendations were made to increase the numbers of ESL teachers, to improve teacher education and to develop resource materials, particularly for use within 'normal' classes. Substantial resources were recommended - some $10m for a three year period. Better collection of data was strongly advocated.

The maintenance of cultural heritage and of cultural identity and the provision of multicultural education were again supported to attain equality of life-styles, and $5m allocated. Recommendations were also made for the support of ethnic schools, but major implications in funding and organisation were not outlined.

The recommendations for multicultural education were given added clarification and specificity by the report of a recommended further committee (Committee on Multicultural Education, 1979) which identified six elements as the scope of education for a multicultural society : general programs of studies to promote intercultural understanding, programs on studies of particular ethnic groups resident in Australia, international and intercultural studies, community language programs and bilingual education programs.

It was recommended that (of the $5m allocated for 1979-1981) 86% of funds should be distributed through Multicultural Education Programs (MEP) for all systemic and independent schools, with the remainder going to the Schools Commission, Projects of National Significance, the Curriculum Development Centre and the Education Research and Development Committee.

Within MEP, 9% of the funds were for ethnic schools, but they could be only minimally served by cooperative ventures such as the appointment of ethnic schools liaison officers and the insertion of community language classes into systemic and independent schools. A scheme of small grants (of up to $1,000, later $2,000) was to receive 20% of funds, while the remainder would go to general projects.

The MEP was inplemented through State Multicultural Education Coordinating Committees, with memberships drawn from ethnic community organisations, government and non-government systems of education, organisations of teachers and of parents, (and co-incidentally from academic institutions), but they were chaired by persons from State Departments of Education. They considered proposals from education authorities, schools and school communities (including individuals) and then advised State Ministers on allocation of funds.

By 1981, Aboriginal Consultative Groups in the States and Territorities were consulting with State MECCs and support for projects relating to Aboriginal languages and cultures was permitted

(such support having been primarily given in a separate program).

General projects supported included the development of an Italian language and culture curriculum for primary students in South Australia; of a Dutch language curriculum for upper primary and secondary level students in Tasmania; of a kit "Education for a Multicultural Society" in Victoria; and of a film library in the Australian Capital Territory.

Many general projects were school-based, particularly in New South Wales, where the MECC was apparently more in favour of school-based curriculum development than of the centralised development of curriculum projects and resources. In that State also, the salaries of special community language teachers and ethnic aides were supported within new school programs to enhance their viability. If necessary, funding was maintained in successive years in continuing programs. Also, in New South Wales, six positions of community language consultant and two of program evaluator were created to offer assistance at the primary level.

Overall the policy defined in the two reports last described upheld a second-phase form of multiculturalism which could be achieved by some localised adjustments to prevailing practices at the school level within Australian educational systems. There was emphasis upon societal goals concerned with cohesion, with remediation by ESL instruction and with forms of ethnic differentiation which would be of benefit to all pupils - a mildly culturally pluralist but not a structurally pluralist form of multiculturalism.

Within some ethnic groups, the policy has been perceived as placing an undue emphasis on English as remediation and with the failure to accord the full recognition, status and structural support to community languages and cultures (for example, see Gardini, 1981) which are consistent with the third phase of definition of status.

On the other hand, the policy has also been criticised as being insufficiently remedial in that English is promoted as the only major survival skill needed to counteract a powerlessness which limits choice for ethnic group members (see Lumb, 1980: 61-62), suggesting a second-phase definition of status.

For well-established groups it seems likely that socialization

of the young into two languages and cultures in bilingual programs of good quality results in cognitive and affective gains. Pupils' motivation may be of significance in this process, whether it be instrumental and concerned with life chances, or integrative and concerned with group membership and life-styles (see Lambert, 1977).

However, the form of curricular organisation in which the content of community languages and cultures appears may also be of particular relevance. It has been argued previously that the "new middle class" is advantaged by "invisible" pedagogy at early primary levels of schooling ("informal" methods, individualized activities, parental participation, parental help), but that near secondary level or near public examinations a move to "visible" ("formal") pedagogy becomes desired (see Cohen, 1981). "Invisible" pedagogy in community languages and cultures at early levels may particularly benefit "new middle class" children, both of non-English-speaking and of Anglo-Celtic Australian backgrounds. (It has been noted by some observers that in some primary level programs Anglo-Celtic Australian children have advanced more quickly in learning community languages than have the children with home backgrounds in the cultures concerned (Craven, 1977). This initial outcome could be due to the process noted above or to others such as the influence of dialectical varieties of home language or to "elitist" attitudes of community language teachers towards dialect speakers.)

At middle and upper levels of schooling "new middle class" parents of non-English-speaking bakcground are likely to seek relatively "formal " forms of instruction. They are unlikely to approve of "multicultural culture" or common culture (see Smolicz, 1981). They may prefer to seek instruction for their offspring within part-time after-hours ethnic schools (or in full-time independent ethnic schools), where issues concerning content, control and access can be more readily resolved to their satisfaction. If attendance at community language classes is in systemic schools, such parents are likely to demand programs of some depth and rigour which would require considerable structural change and expenditure within educational systems, although strengthening ethnic schools might postpone that need.

It is clear that such issues have been comprehended within

reports made subsequent to the Review of Post-Arrival Services and Programs, since strong support for both community language education and ethnic schools has been evident.

THE FIRST REPORT OF THE AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS, REVIEW OF MULTICULTURAL AND MIGRANT EDUCATION (SEPTEMBER, 1980)

Until the change of party in power at Federal level early in 1983 it seemed likely that the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (A.I.M.A.) would assume a significant role in defining policy.

There seems to be little knowledge amongst educators concerning A.I.M.A., which was created as a result of Commonwealth Government legislation in November 1979 following the recommendation of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, (1978). An agency legitimated as representing the interests of ethnic groups could now be drawn within the ambit of public decision-making at the national level. It could assume research and development functions formerly carried out by the national Schools Commission, the Educational Research and Development Committee (ERDC) (abolished), and the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) (wound down).

An administrative council was set up, based in Victoria where A.I.M.A. is placed, comprising the Chairman, Mr Frank Galbally (formerly Chairman of the group which conducted the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants), the Director of the Institute, Mr Petro Georgiou (formerly on the staff of the Prime Minister), Mr John Menadue (the Permanent Head of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs), Professor J. Zubrzycki (the Chairman of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council), and five other members from various States and Territories. Membership of the Institute was to be built up to 100 members, but proportional representation from States and Territories was clearly not attempted.

The scope of A.I.M.A.'s first report is indicated by the focus of the eight sections - Australian multiculturalism; education in a multicultural society; community views on multicultural education; schools (government, Catholic, independent non-Catholic); ethnic schools; tertiary institutions; adult migrant education and government support structures for multicultural education. An

introductory section contains a preface and twenty recommendations (arising from the sections listed above) which had an immediate effect on policy and funding for language studies in ethnic schools and in tertiary education.

Aims and Methodology

The aims of the review were to survey nationally current activities in multicultural and migrant education; to assess whether programs could be improved and, if so, how this might be done, and to identify areas requiring further research (p. v). These were appropriate but ambitious aims and it seems that there was insufficient time allowed to the Institute for the rigorous collection of data which would have enabled such aims to be completely satisfied. The Annual Federal Budget taking the Institute's recommendations into account was released soon after publication of the report. Under the circumstances, much valuable information has been revealed, mainly by gathering together previously disparate data.

During two months of 1980, approximately 100 organisations were consulted and approximately 500 people participated in discussions to gauge community views and attitudes (p. 11), although it is not possible to ascertain who those people were and therefore whether an adequate range of opinion was taken into account.

The philosophical position adopted in the report's introduction supported an essentially integrative view of multiculturalism, accepting cultural pluralism but with emphasis upon societal goals concerned with cohesion and with forms of ethnic differentiation which could be of benefit to all. This stance was apparently tempered during the research process to allow strong support for some adoption of structural pluralism, such as for ethnic schools (p. 6), for ethnic broadcasting (p. 85), and for the employment of bilingual native speakers of community language to teach those languages in the recognised educational systems (p. 14). However, the form of bilingual education supported is transitional only (pp. 12-13), compared with a full bilingual acquisition and maintenance model (see Clyne, 1977).

There was strong input from academics since the list of 30 contributors who guided the research contains 21 in tertiary education institutions, headed by Dr J.J. Smolicz, Reader in Education at the University of Adelaide (pp. 143-145). The background literature con-

sulted lists 91 references, of which some 70 originated in government departments, commissions, statutory authorities, or were written by individuals within such agencies, which may indicate some failure to initiate research of relevance by other agencies of educational research. The last chapter of the report provides an excellent analysis of government support structures at Federal and State levels.

The methods of making contact with educational systems were not noted, but could surely have been improved upon, since very little data on schooling from New South Wales and Queensland were collected.

The Definition of Multicultural Education

A.I.M.A. made analyses of programs in schools, ethnic schools and higher and further education, mostly by examining contextual variables, such as administrative and financial arrangements, and programs claimed to be operating.

The term "multicultural education" was used here to refer to three strands of study - "the teaching of English, the teaching of languages other than English used in the Australian community, and the study of ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia" (p. v). Such a definition offers conceptual simplicity but diminishes, by incorporation within those three categories, two other components of multicultural education which are often delineated in policy and practice - bilingual education and ethnic studies (see Holenbergh, 1978). These two components direct more concentrated attention towards ethnic languages and cultures and may generate more controversy with regard to content, control and access. For example, who shall teach in an ethnic studies program focussed upon a single sub-culture? A person native to the mother country? A person born in Australia to parents born in the mother country? A person with one or other of those attributes but, as well, with professional qualifications in education in Australia? A person with one of those attributes but with educational qualifications from the mother country? A person from any ethnic group with appropriate academic qualifications? How shall cultural differences amongst groups from the same country of origin be comprehended? Models of multicultural education based upon assimilation and pluralism which take such issues into account have been developed in the U.S.A. (see Cordasco, 1976).

The last two components, bilingual education and ethnic studies, are not as easily compatible with present day organisational arrangements for foreign languages and social studies as are the teaching of community languages and comparative studies of ethnic and cultural diversity. They are more likely to require and to maintain elements of structural pluralism of ethnic groups (for example, with respect to appropriate teachers and to target groups of pupils).

Programs in Schools

Subsequent analyses of government, Catholic and independent schools confirm the orientation suggested above : while bilingual education and ethnic studies are sometimes mentioned, they are clearly considered of peripheral significance.

Community language education in schools also recedes in importance compared with studies of ethnic and cultural diversity (for example, the curious categorisation of the Ten Schools Project in South Australia, p. 27) and of ESL.

Ethnic schools (organised by ethnic communities) naturally demonstrate a structurally pluralist form of multicultural education and often feature monocultural ethnic studies, which may have a religious base, as well as community languages (which are the major focus of part-time, voluntary schools); sometimes there is bilingual instruction.

The provision of programs in government, Catholic and independent schools is described for the three strands of multicultural education selected. It is clear that curriculum development has largely been at the level of individual schools, without system-wide responses, despite continuing commitment expressed at higher levels of decision-making in educational systems. Indeed, almost no precise figures on the incidence of programs other than those in ESL seem to have been available. The few programs which were noted for the other two components seem to be an underestimate of numbers, certainly for community language programs.

Only the State of Victoria was noted as earmarking money for multicultural and migrant education (p. 23). While that State certainly was the first to respond to the needs of schools, structural response had also occurred in other States, such as in New South Wales (with which this author is particularly familiar).

In New South Wales, from 1978, a Saturday School of Community Languages had been operating in six centres, offering courses to Higher School Certificate (HSC) level in more than 20 community languages to approximately 4,000 pupils drawn from government and non-government secondary schools. In the previous year the Boards of Secondary School Studies and Senior Studies had accepted many "new" languages for accreditation and they were given matriculation status by universities. (Considerable controversy has since ensued concerning the assessment of students in these languages, with allegations being made by ethnic community groups that the statistical techniques employed for deriving the HSC total scores have discriminated against students of non-English speaking background.) A similar Saturday School had been operating in Victoria for some years previously.

From 1977 English Language Reception Centres were set up in major geographical areas for the reception of immigrants - to offer intensive instruction to secondary-level pupils for up to six months. To some extent these centres were based upon experience in similar intensive language centres in the U.K.

Following the establishment of a Division, later a Directorate, of Special Programs within the New South Wales Department of Education in 1977, a large staff (of nearly fifty persons at times) was appointed in the area of multicultural education for development and planning, collection of curriculum resources, and consultancy to schools. Consultants in multicultural education were also placed in all educational regions, some in special regional multicultural education resource centres.

By 1980 many persons in these positions were of non-English-speaking background; some had attended an 18-month "conversion" course for teachers with overseas qualifications offered once (from 1977) at Sydney Teachers' College. Some were enrolled in the part-time and external postgraduate diploma programs increasingly being offered at tertiary institutions. Many were previously ESL teachers within the Department of Education. As there was no specific career structure, there was some movement back to teaching positions where conventional rules for promotion applied, but turnover allowed some variation in the community languages in which consultancy was offered.

Persons with special expertise in multicultural education were also placed in the Social Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, acting as a source of independent advice to the Minister, and overseeing the funding allocated annually to ethnic schools since 1975. A survey of these schools was made in 1978.

The Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales employed a project officer in Education, while several part-time commissioners were knowledgeable about educational matters.

The New South Wales Department of Education made surveys of the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of students as part of the National Survey in 1980, and of teachers, thus obtaining new data bases for planning.

A Multicultural Education Policy Statement, mandatory for all government schools, was released by the Minister of Education in November 1979, after lengthy drafting within the Division of Special Programs. Significant components of curriculum were identified as multicultural perspectives, education for intercultural understanding, ethnic studies, ESL and culture-through-language education. The last component was critized as an inadequate substitute for community language education and bilingual education by ethnic community agencies, such as the Ethnic Communities' Council of New South Wales which has an Education Sub-Committee and acts as a strong pressure group. The policy was then reviewed with advice from a new committee with a range of appointed representatives similar to that on the existing New South Wales Multicultural Coordinating Committee (MECC) which planned the disbursal of funds in the (Federal) Schools' Commission's Multicultural Education Program. The many hundreds of programs and projects supported in MEP included community language programs mounted by clusters of cooperating primary schools from the government, Catholic and independent "sectors; clusters shared specialist teachers, jointly developed materials, and used expert consultants. This concept first emerged within MECC, being based on the League of Co-operating Schools and pioneer work by Goodlad in U.S.A. As well as those in the inner city, clusters emerged in far-flung Sydney suburbs, such as Lane Cove and Brookvale, and in rural centres such as Armidale.

Consultants in major community languages (four to six at a time) were appointed to work at the primary level across "sectors" and across geographical regions according to needs, while two evaluators furnished descriptive profiles for participating schools and for MECC. A rather remarkable degree of flexibility was exercised within the usually unwieldy New South Wales Department of Education (which is the largest educational system in Australia).

In 1980 a State Budget allocation was made to support 30 specialist community language teachers for appointment to primary schools above staff establishments, ensuring the possibility of programs independent of Federal Government funding. The first group of teachers selected were for the languages Arabic (7), Greek (8), Italian (7), Turkish (3), Maltese (2), Macedonian (1), Spanish (1) and Portuguese (1). One of the great difficulties in many such initiatives in multicultural education has been the supply of qualified teachers with adequate community language skills; many persons interviewed for such positions, who are accepted for teaching, fail to pass the oral language tests conducted. Without employment of exchange teachers or of teachers recruited overseas, it will not be possible to mount many desirable programs until Australian tertiary institutions produce graduates qualified in community languages and community language pedagogy. Ten more specialist teachers were supported by the next budget allocation, and also transitional bilingual education programs for infants were set up in selected schools by movement of qualified bilingual infant teachers.

Within the system of schools in the nine dioceses coordinated by the Catholic Education Commission, similar initiatives have occurred. Although resources have not been available for specialist teachers at primary level, the autonomy of principals in selecting staff resulted in the appointments of class teachers with community language skills. Some independent schools have also mounted special programs.

By 1980 community language programs in more than 20 languages were being offered at primary level, and at secondary level (although infrequently during weekdays in languages other than French and German).

ESL Programs in Schools

The ESL situation as described was quite extensive, but chaotically ad hoc. The real needs could not be identified because of lack of data : the numbers of children receiving special ESL instruction, the types of programs in which they were placed, the levels of need for ESL (first, second and third phases of learning) and the outcomes of ESL were not known - an extraordinary situation after a decade of program development. The need for adequate preparation of both classroom and specialist ESL teachers was clearly noted: only in the Victorian Secondary Division was a TESL qualification required for teachers.

Ethnic Schools

The chapter on ethnic schools is one of the most interesting contributions in the Report, since little information on them had previously been available. Tsounis (1974) had made a study of Greek ethnic schools; Kringas and Lewins (1981) had made an exploratory study of some selected ethnic schools - Italian (four), Greek (four), Ukrainian (one), Slovenian (one). The response to the survey undertaken was low, but 84,310 pupils were estimated in Victoria and New South Wales in 1980. A 1977 survey of ethnic schools by the Social Development Unit of the Ministry of Education had located 28,743 pupils in ethnic schools in New South Wales, compared with the 17,117 shown by this report (p. 48). However, large increases were noted between 1977 and 1980 in both New South Wales (25%) and Victoria (55%). The increases were particularly great in large ethnic communities, such as Greek and Italian communities, and in relatively recent ethnic communities, such as Turkish, Vietnamese, Arabic-speaking, Spanish and Portuguese communities (p. 51).

Most pupils in ethnic schools were primary-school children attending schools organised after hours, but it was noted that a few ethnic schools of large communities, such as the Italian, in some States were able to organise insertion classes in conventional day schools; cooperation with TAFE authorities also occurred. Others were found to take the form of independent day schools;48 independent ethnic day schools were identified. Some such schools, with community language instruction and with elaborate ethnic studies programs apparently requiring special staff, were described as demonstrating "the integrative aspect of ethnic cultural diversity by featuring a co-existence of ethnic identity with a deep commit-

ment to Australia" (p. 46).

The "outstanding academic records" of a number of ethnic day schools were noted, suggesting that they could not be seen "to constitute a liability" and that other ethnic schools were unlikely to do so (p. 47). In that case, it is surprising that a stronger commitment to some form of structural pluralism was not recommended for government schools. However, the middle-class children in fee-paying ethnic day schools may benefit from educational resources of a quality superior to that available in many after-hours schools.

The quality of education in ethnic schools was a major concern of the Review group which recommended payment to the schools provided that there was no restriction of access and that some standard information was supplied. This incentive to formal organisation of ethnic schools, and such an information base, could lead to plans for eventual integration of many schools with the conventional government educational systems. Such integration would be extremely expensive for governments if high quality programs were provided. At present, as this report showed, the emphasis is clearly on some support for the provision of monolingual and monocultural studies in the private voluntary domain of education, continuing to use relatively low-cost teachers and other resources from ethnic communities, but also continuing the process of legitimation of this new "sector". However, it should be noted that several new independent ethnic and international day schools have recently been set up, and others are planned for 1984. Presumably these schools qualify for government funding in the same ways as other independent schools.

Higher Education

The chapter on tertiary institutions is also of interest in considering the selected three components of multicultural education. Italian and Modern Greek were identified as the Cinderella languages of the universities, for which there was considerable demand but insufficient provision. Enrolments in Italian have more than doubled, and in Modern Greek have tripled, since 1975. Funds for the establishment of Modern Greek have come almost entirely from the Greek community and endowments continue to cover much of the recurrent costs.

The purposes of universities were defined as the presentation,

manpower and the critical evaluation of society, following the Sixth Report of the Australian Universities Commission in 1975.

It was argued that, amongst the three components of multicultural education selected, the study of community languages and cultures largely achieves the first purpose, the teaching of English achieves the second purpose and studies of ethnic and cultural diversity largely achieve the third purpose. Unfortunately, academics engaged in a critical evaluation of society often show some hostility to and intolerance of the forms of multicultural education advocated (for example, see Chipman, 1980; Sharp, 1980).

The Tertiary Education Commission was identified as powerful and influential, despite its supposed function as an advisory body and its assertions concerning the privacy of autonomous systems and institutions (p. 119). It was found that weightings attached to several criteria influencing its judgment were not known. The Tertiary Education Commission was apparently unique in not having its own source of advice on multicultural education matters compared with other agencies concerned with policy development (pp. 129-130). There have been some past adjustments in the cultural orientation of course offerings but the Kramer Committee of 1975 suggested that the development of courses in the languages and cultures of ethnic groups was then long overdue (p. 60) and little change has since occurred. (However, there was a lack of information on some institutions known to have taken action in the area of migration studies, such as Macquarie University.)

ESL for Adults

The chapter on adult migrant education also collected together some relevant information and revealed pitiful inadequacies in the service provided. It identified provision for new arrivals on the On-Arrival Program of the Adult Migrant Education Program as the subject of a separate later report (April 1981), which found teacher education to be a major concern. Little concern was apparent for the issue of the permanence of tenure, which was sought (and has now been gained) by approximately 5,000 tutors employed in this service. A concern expressed for the qualifications of tutors was appropriate based on evidence of selection procedures.

The loss of talent to the community as a whole and the personal frustration experienced by many immigrants whose control of English is not adequate were outlined (p. 91). Only 6,178 students were enrolled in classes during 1979/80. The real demand was not known, although 2,000 students were reported to be awaiting tuition in 1980. The average number of hours of instruction received per student was not noted - it is possible that some 900 hours are needed for adults to learn English on average.

The variety of programs of the on-going phase of instruction was outlined, including the Home Tutor Scheme, courses in industry, and teaching English by television. The case for the use of the multicultural television service for teaching English, with the provision of printed bilingual support materials, was strongly made (p. 105).

Recommendations

The twenty recommendations included major proposals for research into the effectiveness of strategies of ESL for various groups of learners, and into the organisation and resource levels of ethnic schools.

There were several proposals for tertiary education, involving the three selected areas of multicultural education. In particular, recommendations were concerned with more and better courses in a wider range of community languages and with increasing the access of students to them. Both the needs of general and specialist teachers were taken into account in considering teacher education.

The upgrading of existing courses for adult immigrants was recommended, with strong support for the use of multicultural television for teaching English, together with written explanatory material in community languages.

The real priorities were shown by the recommendations of specific financial grants for ethnic schools ($30 per head p.a.), and for the establishment in universities of courses in community languages and cultures (which could lead to availability of qualified teachers of community languages). The recommendations were quickly implemented by the Federal Government.

EVALUATION OF POST-ARRIVAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES
(Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, May, 1982)

The Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs requested A.I.M.A. in September 1981 to prepare an evaluation of the objectives and the implementation of the Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Services and Programs to Migrants.

The Evaluation of Post-Arrival Services and Programs (A.I.M.A., 1982(a), 1982(b)) indicated little change in the implementation of programs in education and identified again the urgent need for research to generate the most basic descriptive data. A recommendation was made for the setting up of a National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee on Multicultural Education in an attempt to promote a cohesive, nation-wide approach to policy formation and implementation.

English As A Second Language

The lack of system-wide responses to the previously identified needs was evident, indicating the continuation of a "second-phase" view of such programs as ad hoc remediation for the disadvantaged. The current situation was summarised as shown below:

> The Program's operation at the school level reflects the diversity of Australian schools and systems and the autonomy granted in most systems to individual schools. While policy, funding, staff resources and advisory services are centrally administered, the Program is school-based in all other respects. Limited data are available from school authorities in the States on the Program's operation at the school level. There is no comprehensive profile of the actual duties and deployment in schools of teachers funded through the Child Migrant Education Program, nor of the number of migrant children assisted or the number of migrant children in need of assistance but not receiving it. Similarly, there is a lack of detailed information on the organisational strategies in use in the provision of English-language teaching, the methods and materials used by teachers; and the extent of proficiency gain by migrant children receiving English instruction.
> (A.I.M.A., 1982(b):15)

The results of a National Survey carried out in 1980 by the School's Commission indicated that about 575,000 students (20% of the school population) were of non-English speaking background (NESB), (to the second generation - a child born in an overseas country or a child one of whose parents was born in an overseas country in which English was not the language predominantly spoken).

The number of ESL teachers was estimated to be about 2,930. Staff/student ratios were then derived of 2:217 (for all NESB students) and of 1:163 (excluding those who spoke English at home). This was deemed a satisfactory situation, but may be more problematical in that students' actual needs, and therefore the need for new methodologies involving small groups and long term assistance, were not known.

Formal recommendations addressed again the need for research: that the Schools Commission should conduct research into the development of English-language competence and should develop suitable instrumentation; that a survey should be carried out to determine the actual levels of ESL competence; and that legislation should be amended to oblige the collection of educational and financial data (A.I.M.A. 1982(a):330).

Multicultural Education Program

Again, there was lack of information to enable more than a general assessment of MEP and few descriptive details were presented.

It was noted that most funds had gone to schools with a high proportion of students from non-English speaking backgrounds (A.I.M.A. 1982(b):18), indicating perhaps that such schools had applied more frequently and/or had been favoured by MECC's assessing proposals.

In practice, therefore, multicultural education was primarily viewed as curriculum for immigrants in particular residential areas, perhaps again reflecting the philosophical position of remediation for the disadvantaged.

While commenting critically on the use of MEP funds to supplement recurrent expenditure such as teachers' salaries, one recommendation addressed that need. Teachers of community languages would thereby be accorded status similar to that of ESL teachers at present.

Other recommendations were for the allocation of funds equally to community language and multicultural education programs and for basic descriptive research to be carried out.

No further recommendations were made for ethnic schools, but the appointment of some seven ethnic schools' liaison officers (whose roles varied across ethnic school-based and government school-based activities) was noted.

Tertiary Institutions

Although the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) had drawn the attention of universities and State co-ordinating bodies to the findings of the previous Review, it was considered that there had not been an adequate response in improving the quality of existing professional courses, increasing the access of immigrants to these courses and facilitating the recognition of previous professional qualifications (A.I.M.A., 1982(a):130).

Within professional and vocational courses, the response had been greatest within teacher education, but courses and units tended to be optional and of short duration. There were few components within courses based in politics, sociology, history and culture (p.131).

Expansion of tertiary courses in community languages had been proceeding. In December, 1981, twelve new courses were approved for 1982, in a range of languages including Polish, Vietnamese, Turkish, Maltese, Greek, Italian, Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Arabic, Portuguese and Pitjantjatjara

It was recommended that CTEC " should pursue with tertiary institutions steps to ensure that multicultural perspectives and components are introduced into tertiary courses" (p.133), and that the Australian Research Grants Committee (ARGC) should fund research into multicultural education (p.134).

NATIONAL ETHNIC SCHOOL SURVEY, REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS, VOLUMES 1-4 (1982), BY MARLENE J. NORST, SCHOOL OF MODERN LANGUAGES, MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Following the recommendation of A.I.M.A. (1980), a national survey of ethnic schools was carried out for the Schools Commission by Associate Professor M.J. Norst at Macquarie University (Norst, 1982a,b).

The terms of reference referred to: identifying the attitudes and views held about ethnic schools; providing a descriptive profile of ethnic schools; examining the needs of ethnic schools in respect of teachers' qualifications, modes of upgrading qualifications and maintaining standards, curriculum materials and equipment and administrative support; assessing current relationships and offering options for possible relationships between part-time ethnic schools and the formal education system (Norst, 1982:2).

The most accurate descriptive term for the schools was considered to be [- - -] Community Language School, since the use of such a title would "focus on the community basis of these schools, indicate the main subject taught in an authentic cultural context and suggest openness rather than exclusiveness (p.5).

It was reported that in 1982 there were more than 62,000 students in 1,200 part-time community-based schools learning 57 community languages. In the survey, 973 schools were located.

Other interested researchers may be given access to the large data bank assembled. The research project was notable for the large numbers of persons of non-English speaking background who assisted in their professional capacities, as well as for the participation of many hundreds of persons in ethnic schools.

The largest numbers of schools were for the Greek communities (374) and the Italian communities (151); many schools were also found for the languages Arabic (46), Spanish (38), Turkish (38), Croatian (34), Chinese (32) and Polish (32); a few schools were found for relatively "invisible" languages such as Finnish (3), Punjabi (2), Gaelic (Scots) (6), Romany (1) and Welsh (1). The oldest school was a part-time Jewish school founded in 1865 in Brisbane; 191 new schools were established in 1980-81.

There were 3,089 teachers, of whom 18% held Australian teaching

qualifications, 20% had overseas qualifications recognised in Australia, 26% had overseas qualifications not recognised in Australia and 36% had no formal teaching qualifications; it was noted that some teachers had academic qualifications but no teaching qualifications; 67% had no difficulty in speaking English (pp. 62-63) in their view.

According to the survey 55% of ethnic school teachers wished their languages to be taught in full-time schools, 27% in ethnic schools, 33% in both systems and 8% thought that language teaching was primarily a responsibility of the home (p.187). The major concern of ethnic school organisations was the quality of teaching (p.187).

The main target areas for urgently required funding were found to be -

"(i) teachers' salaries at a minimum standard rate for all schools

(ii) premises (rent, cleaning, insurance)

(iii) maintenance (clerical assistance, printing, postage, etc.)

(iv) books and materials

(v) equipment

(vi) transport

(vii) teacher training and development

(viii) curriculum development

(ix) teaching innovations (e.g. residential vacation schools)

(x) consultants' services."

(p.196)

As far as is known, the report has not yet been released by the Schools Commission. The recommendations were of considerable interest, since they suggested formal recognition of ethnic schools as a clearly defined fourth sector of schools to receive public funding, thus achieving due status in relation to the other existing three sectors of schools - government, independent and Catholic education system schools. Other ancillary recommendations were also made, as shown below.

"Summary Of Recommendations

... 1. Part-time Community Language Schools be granted official recognition as a clearly defined sector in Australian education.

2. A Commonwealth Co-ordinating Committee for Part-time Community Language Schools be established within the Commonwealth Schools Commission to operate through State Co-ordinating Committees.

3. Government funding of part-time Community Language Schools be disbursed in clearly identified areas of need, with policies for immediate and long term disbursement clearly distinguished.

4. The development of co-operative interaction between part-time Community Language Schools and full-time schools be actively promoted.

5. Continued community participation in part-time Community Language Schools be ensured.

6. Groups facing special needs be given particular consideration, particularly very small communities, those recently arrived and those dispersed over a wide area.

7. Funding be allocated for research in the area of part-time Community Language Schools."

(Norst, 1982:viii)

In the Schools Commission's "Recommendations for 1984" (Schools Commission, 1983) there are only a few signs that the report has been taken into account. The Ethnic Schools Program has been renamed the Community Languages Teaching Program; insertion classes in schools are grudgingly accepted (p.38) although a movement towards conventional community language teaching classes in such schools is favoured above insertion classes and above classes in ethnic schools. It is suggested that central funds be allocated for improvement in teaching methods and curriculum materials, as well as the continuation of per capita grants (p.39).

In the three reports compiled since the Review of Post-Arrival Services and Programs which have been discussed above, there is increasing emphasis upon the maintenance of community languages, indicating some support for the claims for ethnic rights, power and participation which have been characteristic of the most recent definition of immigrant status within education. The increasing numbers and organisation of part-time ethnic schools, and the increasing numbers of full-time independent ethnic and international schools which are eligible for government support, reflect the growing expertise of some ethnic community groups in taking care of their interests.

The form of development of relevant tertiary courses within existing Australian tertiary institutions, the requirement of open admission to ethnic schools supported by the government and the continued emphasis on acquisition of English indicate continuing support for integrative forms of policy in multicultural education.

RESEARCH NEEDS

Research into the implementation of educational policy has recently assumed significance in U.S.A. As a result Glazer (1982) and other scholars identified the key role of strong federal involvement (including powerful legislation) in enforcing equal educational opportunities and considered that the battles had been won.

In Australia, the A.I.M.A. Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education, unable to assess the extent of institutional responses, noted that "the initial question relating to multicultural and migrant education is what is actually taking place in schools" (A.I.M.A., 1980:23).

The A.I.M.A. Evaluation of Post-Arrival Services and Programs recommended stronger measures than previously used to initiate research into policy implementation in the Child Migrant Education Program and, to a lesser extent, in the Multicultural Education Program, as shown by the following recommendations:

"[Recommendations]

22. The State Grants (Schools) legislation should include arrangements for the collection of data on financial and educational aspects of the English as a Second Language Program. The Schools Commission should report annually from 1983 onwards. Its report should indicate: expenditure; numbers of teachers and associated research staff employed; the number of students benefitting from the program; the number of students in need receiving no ESL assistance; and the outcomes of ESL in terms of proficiency gain."

"[Recommendations]

25. The Schools Commission should broaden its current review of the operations of the Multicultural Education Program to include an evaluation of the impact of the program on school curricula and programs including

- an assessment of the developments undertaken in multicultural education through Multicultural Education Program funding
- an evaluation of the impact of these developments

....."

(A.I.M.A., 1982(b):48-49)

Subsequently, the School's Commission Recommendations for 1984 (School's Commission, 1983:34) referred to a review of the English as a Second Language Program and to other research to be undertaken in 1983 following on from the Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services.

Reference is also made (p.36) to the beginning of an evaluation of the Multicultural Education Program.

Glazer (1982) defined the key problem now for all students, including minority group students, to be the quality of education. He noted lack of attainment and lack of ambition and, with others, called for identification and extension of programs which worked and elimination of those which did not.

Many studies of curriculum development in the 1960s showed that changes in organisation and in the formal school curriculum did not always result in changes in the content or the process of classroom instruction. Recent studies of achievement in the U.S.A. (see Dougherty, 1981), which have used more sensitive measures of achievement than in many previous studies, have demonstrated the importance for the achievement of minority group students of teacher attributes (such as attitudes and expectations), of process variables (such as those of classroom interaction) and of certain contextual variables, principally the forms of organisation (such as tracking or streaming) and the provision of resource materials of good quality.

The failure in Australia to make comparative studies testing the relative merits of integrated or withdrawal English-As-A-Second-Language (ESL) classes has been noted (see A.I.M.A., 1980:29).

There were few suggestions for comparative research in the recent Australian reports examined. References to assessing proficiency gains in English were made but not to assessing proficiency gains in community languages nor to other outcomes.

More comparative studies are needed, both within schools, across schools and across systems, relating key variables such as those noted above to educational outcomes. Those outcomes may be concerned with life chances, such as achievement in various types of subject matter, credentialling, entry to higher and further education and entry into occupations. Competence in English and in other languages should be related to such outcomes.

The educational outcomes may also be concerned with life styles, such as achievement in and attitudes towards cultural and linguistic components of the curriculum which are valued by ethnic community groups and are likely to have effects upon them; examples of such effects are stronger maintenance of community languages, better communication across

generations, and the participation of persons outside traditionally defined groups. Outcomes based on common civic learnings are also important, both for instrumental and integrative reasons.

The Schools Commission Recommendations for 1984 noted a widespread concern for the quality of secondary education (Schools Commission, 1983:2-3) but no reference to the situation of students of ethnic backgrounds was made.

Overall, recent policy for multicultural and migrant education in Australia as defined by Federal Government has been moving towards the full recognition of equal opportunities and equal rights for persons of ethnic background.

Professional persons of ethnic background have increasingly been involved in the carrying out of research and giving advice mainly through the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (until the recent change of government early in 1983).

However, the measures recommended to improve policy implementation in the States are relatively weak - the Schools Commission also identified Federal-State relations as a cause of problems in the "Recommendations for 1984" - being at the level of consultation and co-ordination. One exception was the suggestion that legislation should be amended to ensure research into ESL, which is now being carried out. Stronger suggestions for action may also be needed to ensure that other relevant research is carried out.

REFERENCES

AUSTRALIA. BROADCASTING TRIBUNAL (1981). Submissions to the Inquiry Into Cable and Subscription Television Services and Related Matters. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Tribunal.

AUSTRALIA. COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO POVERTY (1971). Interim Report. Poverty in Australia. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

AUSTRALIA. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1975). Report of the Inquiry Into Schools of High Migrant Density. Canberra: Department of Education.

AUSTRALIA. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1976). Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools. Chairman, J.W. Mather. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

AUSTRALIA. IMMIGRATION ADVISORY COUNCIL. IAC. (1960). The Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia. Special Committee of the Immigration Advisory Council. Chairman, W.R. Dovey. Canberra: Department of Immigration.

AUSTRALIA. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS. A.I.M.A. (1980). Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education. Chairman, F. Galbally. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs.

AUSTRALIA. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS. A.I.M.A. (1981). Review of the On-Arrival Education Program. Melbourne: A.I.M.A.

AUSTRALIA. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS. A.I.M.A. (1982a). Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services. Chairman, F. Galbally. Melbourne: A.I.M.A.

AUSTRALIA. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS. A.I.M.A. (1982b). Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services. A Summary. Chairman, F. Galbally. Melbourne: A.I.M.A.

AUSTRALIA. REVIEW OF POST-ARRIVAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES TO MIGRANTS. (1978). Migrant Services and Programs. Report and Appendixes. Vols. 1 & 2. Chairman, F. Galbally. Canberra: AGPS.

AUSTRALIA. SCHOOLS COMMISSION (1975). Report for the Triennium 1976-1978. Canberra: AGPS.

AUSTRALIA. SCHOOLS COMMISSION (1979). The Committee on Multicultural Education. Education for a Multicultural Society. Canberra: The Schools Commission.

AUSTRALIA. SCHOOLS COMMISSION (1983). Recommendations for 1984. Canberra: Commonwealth Schools Commission.

BERNSTEIN, B. (1975). Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 3. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

BOTTOMLEY, G. (1979). After the Odyssey. A Study of Greek Australians. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.

BOURKE, S.F. and KEEVES, J.P. (1977). Australian Studies in School Performance, Vol. III, The Mastery of Literacy and Numeracy: Final Report. Education Research and Development Committee Report, No. 13. Canberra: AGPS.

CARROLL, J. (1977). Puritan, Paranoid and Remissive: A Sociology of Modern Culture. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

CHIPMAN, L. (1980). The menace of multiculturalism. Quadrant, 24, (10), 3-6.

CLYNE, M. (1977). Bilingual education - present and past. Paper presented at 48th ANZAAS Symposium, Melbourne: Monash University.

COHEN, G. (1981). Culture and educational achievement. Harvard Educational Review, 51, (2), 270-285.

CORDASCO, F. (Ed.) (1976). Bilingual Schooling in the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill.

CRAVEN, E. Personal communication, 1979.

DOUGHERTY, K. (1981). Essay Review. After the Fall: Research on School Effects Since the Coleman Report. Harvard Educational Review, 51, (2), 30, 1-308.

ENCEL, S. (1982). Introduction, in S. Encel/J. Martin, The Ethnic Dimension, Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism by Jean Martin, Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

GARDINI, A. (1982). Multicultural Education Policy. Unpublished thesis, Master of Education, University of Adelaide.

GLAZER, N. (1982). Responses. Equality of educational opportunity. Special Issue. Rethinking the Federal Role in Education. Harvard Educational Revue, 52, 4, 460-462.

HOLENBERGH, R.M. (1978). Ethnic identity and education, in P.R. de Lacey and M.E. Poole (Eds.) Mosaic or Melting Pot, Cultural Evolution in Australia. Sydney: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 343-365.

HUBER, R. (1977). From Pasta to Pavlova. Brisbane: Queensland University Press.

KAHN, H., BROWN, W. and MARTEL, L. (1976). The Next 200 Years. New York: William Morrow.

KAHN, H. and PEPPER, T. (1980). Will She Be Right? The Future of Australia. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

KRINGAS, P. and LEWINS, F. (1981). Why Ethnic Schools? Selected Case Studies. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

LAMBERT, W.E. (1977). The effects of bilingualism on the individual: Cognitive and sociocultural consequences, in P.A. Hornby (Ed.) Bilingualism. Psychological Social and Educational Implications. New York: Academic Press.

LUMB, P. (1980). Review Article. Education for a Multicultural Society by the Committee on Multicultural Education, Canberra. Journal of Intercultural Studies, 1, (3), 58-62.

MARJORIBANKS, K. (1980). Ethnic Families and Children's Achievements. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

MARTIN, J.I. (1978) The Migrant Presence. Australian Responses 1947-1977. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

MARTIN, J.I. and MEADE, P. (1979). The Educational Experience of Sydney High School Students. A Comparative Study of Migrant Students of Non English-Speaking Origin and Students Whose Parents Were Born in an English-Speaking Country. Commonwealth Department of Education and Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. Canberra: AGPS.

MARTIN, J.I. (1982a). Migrants: Equality and ideology, in S. Encel/J. Martin The Ethnic Dimension. Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism by Jean Martin. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

MARTIN, J.I. (1982b). The economic condition of migrants, in S. Encel/J. Martin The Ethnic Dimension. Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism by Jean Martin. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

NORST, M.J. (1982a). Ethnic schools: What are they and what would they like to be? Journal of Intercultural Studies, 3(2), 6-16.

NORST, M.J. (1982b). National Survey of Ethnic Schools. Unpublished Report. School of Modern Languages, Macquarie University.

OVERBERG, H. (1981). Dutch in Victoria 1947-80: Community and ideology. Journal of Intercultural Studies, 2(1), 17-36.

PARKER, N. (Ed.) (1973). Focus on Migrants. A Social Work Perspective. Sydney: ACOSS.

PRICE, C.A. (Ed.) (1971). Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest, No. 2. Department of Demography, A.N.U., Canberra: Australian National University Press.

PASSOW, A.H. (1970). Deprivation and Disadvantage: Nature and Manifestations. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.

POPPER, K.R. (1945). The Open Society and Its Enemies. London: G. Routledge.

RIESSMAN, F. (1962). The Culturally Deprived Child. New York: Harper and Row.

RIST, R.C. (1979). On the education of guest-worker children in Germany: Public policies and equal educational opportunity. Comparative Education Review, 355-369.

SHARP, R. (1980). Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of Schooling. Towards a Marxist Analysis of Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

SMOLICZ, J.J. (1979). Culture and Education in a Plural Society. Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre.

SMOLICZ, J.J. (1981). Cultural pluralism and educational policy. Australian Journal of Education, 25(2), 121-145.

TSOUNIS, M.P. (1974). Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia: Monograph No. 1. Department of Demography, A.N.U., Canberra: Australian National University Press.

WESCOMBE, R.W. (1980). Schools, Communities and Politics in N.S.W. Occasional Paper 6, Department of Education, University of Sydney.

YOUNG, C., PETTY, M. and FAULKNER, A. (1980). Education and Employment of Turkish and Lebanese Youth. A Study funded by the Commonwealth Department of Education under its Review and Evaluation Program. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

YOUNG, R.M. (1977). Multicultural Education in New South Wales. Proceedings of the Sociology Section, 48th Symposium of ANZAAS. Melbourne.